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P R 080345Z MAY 79

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 057117 29Z

INFO RUHQGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 3600

RUMJPG/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 512

RUSBOD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 8713

RUGMRA/AMEMBASSY JEDDA 278

RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1593

RUEMNO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1592

RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 6779

RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3817

RUQHR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 152

RUHQQA/CINCPAC

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 3557

CINCPAC: ALSO FOR POLAD

L.O. 12865: GDS 5-7-79 (TAYLOR, JAMES E.) OR-P

TAGS: PEFR, PINR, PGOV, PINT, SHUM, AF, PK, UR, IR

SUBJECT: THE "BIG LIE" BECOMES STANDARD KHALQI TOOL

REF: (A) KABUL 3278; (B) KABUL 3166

1. (C- ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: SEVERAL NEW POLITICAL WRINKLES WERE PART OF A DELUGE OF ANNIVERSARY SPEECHES AND PRESS CONFERENCES GIVEN OVER THE LAST DAYS BY PRESIDENT NOOR MOHAMMAD TARAKI AND PRIME MINISTER HAFIZULLAH AMIN, INCLUDING ANOTHER HINT THAT SOME FRICTION BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS MAY BE A REALITY. FLAT DENIALS THAT ANY ARMY MUTINY HAD OCCURRED IN JALALABAD, OR THAT THE REGIME TORTURES ITS POLITICAL PRISONERS, INDICATE THAT THE "BIG LIE" MAY HAVE BECOME THE REGIME'S PREFERRED PUBLIC TACTIC FOR DEALING WITH THORNY ISSUES. ALLEGED INTERFERENCE BY IRAN, PAKISTAN, AND "IMPERIALISM" REMAINED THE GOVERNMENT'S PRIMARY EXCUSE FOR CONTINUED DOMESTIC OPPOSITION, WHILE THINLY-VEILED BARBS WERE LAUNCHED AT "BROTHERLY" COUNTRIES (SPECIFICALLY CZECHOSLOVAKIA) WHO MAY CONSIDER PROVIDING REFUGE TO THE EXILED PARCHAMIST LEADERS. END OF SUMMARY.

Incoming
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3. TARAKI-AMIN RELATIONS: DESPITE AMIN'S RECENT EFFUSIVE DESCRIPTION OF TARAKI AS "THE MOST GLORIOUS PERSONALITY IN AFGHAN HISTORY" (WHICH ELIMINATES SUCH NOTABLES AS DARIUS, ALEXANDER THE GREAT, GENGHIS KHAN, TAMERLANE, AHMAD SHAH DURRANI, LADY SALES, AND FLASHMAN), HINTS CONTINUE TO SURFACE THAT DIFFERENCES OR FRICTION BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS MAY EXIST. IN ONE NEWS CONFERENCE RESPONSE REGARDING AMIN'S RECENT CONDEMNATION OF ANY CULT OF PERSONALITY SURROUNDING TARAKI (REF A), THE GREAT LEADER HIMSELF MODESTLY REPLIED THAT THE AFGHAN PEOPLE "LOVE AND RESPECT ME" SO MUCH THAT THEY INSIST ON PUTTING UP PHOTOGRAPHS EVERYWHERE. HE ADDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS TO CEASE THIS PRACTICE, BUT THE REGIME WILL NOT USE FORCE TO PREVENT THE PEOPLE FROM EXHIBITING THEIR AFFECTION. (COMMENT: A LARGE NUMBER OF TARAKI PHOTOGRAPHS HAVE DISAPPEARED RECENTLY.) AT THE SAME CONFERENCE, TARAKI CATEGORICALLY DENIED THAT AMIN HAD EVER SAID, OR EVEN INTIMATED, THAT CERTAIN UNKNOWN ENEMIES ARE ATTEMPTING TO "INFLUENCE" THE AFGHAN PRESIDENT (REF B). TARAKI PETULANTLY INSISTED THAT AMIN HAD SAID "NOTHING OF THE SORT," AND THAT HE KNEW THIS WAS TRUE BECAUSE HE HAD "READ ALL OF AMIN'S INTERVIEWS OVER THE PAST YEAR."

4. HUMAN RIGHTS: OBLIQUELY COUNTERING WIDESPREAD REPORTS, CONFIRMED BY EYEWITNESSES AND VICTIMS, THAT THIS REGIME PHYSICALLY MISTREATS MANY OF THE NUMEROUS PRISONERS IN ITS CUSTODY (INCLUDING LARGE-SCALE NIGHTTIME EXECUTIONS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, SANS TRIAL, AND THE APPLICATION OF ELECTRICAL SHOCKS TO CERTAIN PARTS OF THE BODY), AMIN CLAIMED THAT "WE HAVE NOT UNDERMINED HUMAN DIGNITY, EVEN WHEN DEALING WITH THOSE HATCHING INTRIGUES AGAINST OUR PEOPLE AND THE COUNTRY," AND ADDED THAT "WE HAVE NOT ACTED AGAINST ANYONE USING MEANS CONTRARY TO RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY". TARAKI INSISTED THAT ONLY "BETWEEN 1,000 AND 1,100 POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE INTERNED." (COMMENT: WE THINK THAT THE FIGURE IS ACTUALLY WELL OVER TEN THOUSAND.)

5. DOMESTIC SECURITY: BLAME FOR INTERNAL SECURITY PROBLEMS CONTINUED TO BE LAID AT THE DOORSTEP OF "FOREIGN INFILTRATORS," ESPECIALLY "SOLDIERS IN AFGHAN DRESS" FROM PAKISTAN AND IRAN. TARAKI INDIRECTLY ADMITTED THAT FIGHTING IS UNDERWAY IN NORTHWEST AFGHANISTAN WHEN HE INSISTED THAT VIOLENCE AROUND MAIMANA (A TURKMAN REGION NEAR THE SOVIET BORDER) IS THE WORK OF "IRANIAN INFILTRATORS" WHO ESCAPED FOLLOWING THE UPHEAVAL IN HERAT. TARAKI ALSO ASSERTED THAT "INTERFERENCE" BY IRAN AND PAKISTAN HAS COMPELLED THE REGIME TO RETAIN THE OVERNIGHT CURFEW IN KAEUL MORE THAN ONE YEAR AFTER THE REVOLUTION. TARAKI BENT THE FACTS SURROUNDING A COUPLE OF POINTS WHEN HE CATEGORICALLY DENIED THAT "ANYTHING," MUCH LESS ANY ARMY MUTINY, HAS HAPPENED IN JALALABAD RECENTLY, AND INSISTED THAT NO ONE (SPECIFICALLY SHI'AS) HAS BEEN ARRESTED BECAUSE OF THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

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INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 3601

RUMJPS/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 513

RUSBQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 8714

RUQMR/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 279

RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1554

RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1593

RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 6780

RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3018

RUQMR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 153

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KABUL 3557

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

6. GOALS OF THE REVOLUTION: TARAKI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE BUILDING OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY IS A LONG-TERM TASK, BUT HE CLAIMED THAT THE "FOUNDATION" OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY WILL BE LAID IN "SIX TO TEN YEARS." AS FOR THE NATURE OF THE REGIME, TARAKI REMARKED THAT "DEMOCRACY MEANS THAT MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE MAJORITY," AND ADDED THAT "WE CAN CALL THE DRA A DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP BECAUSE IT IS IN FAVOR OF 98 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE."

7. RELATIONS WITH IRAN AND PAKISTAN: "REGIONAL REACTIONARY POWERS" (READ IRAN AND PAKISTAN) WITH THE SUPPORT OF "IMPERIALISM" (READ US AND UK) CONTINUE TO CARRY OUT "ARMED AGGRESSION" AGAINST AFGHANISTAN, ACCORDING TO THE AFGHAN LEADERS, AND HAVE "MARTYRED A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE" INCLUDING WOMEN, CHILDREN AND THE ELDERLY. TARAKI CLAIMED THAT SINCE APRIL 8, 1979, "PAKISTANI SOLDIERS HAVE COMMITTED ELEVEN INFRINGEMENTS ONTO AFGHAN TERRITORY". TARAKI INSISTED THAT ALL FURTHER ENCROACHMENTS WOULD BE REPULSED BY THE ARMED FORCES OF AFGHANISTAN, "SUPPORTED BY AFGHANISTAN'S INTERNATIONAL FRIENDS." TARAKI ADDED THAT "WE DO NOT CONSIDER ZIA-UL-HAQ AS OUR ENEMY, BUT MAYBE SOONER OR LATER HE WILL STOP SENDING INFILTRATORS INTO THIS COUNTRY."

8. RELATIONS WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES: TARAKI INSISTED THAT THERE ARE ONLY BETWEEN 1,000 AND 1,100 SOVIET ADVISERS HERE, AND, OF THESE, ABOUT 300 ARE SERVING WITH THE AFGHAN MILITARY. (COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 1,000 SOVIET MILITARY ADVISERS HERE -- AND AROUND 2,500 CIVILIAN ADVISERS.) HE SUGGESTED THAT FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS COMPARE THAT FIGURE WITH THE SITUATIONS IN IRAN, PAKISTAN, AND OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE "SIXTY TO SEVENTY THOUSAND AMERICAN" AND OTHER ADVISERS ARE PRESENT. REGARDING MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM THE USSR, TARAKI CLAIMED THAT "WHATEVER WE NEED AND CAN MANAGE, WE GET." ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, TARAKI INSISTED THAT "BROTHERLY RELATIONS" BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA INDICATE THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA WOULD "NEVER GIVE SHELTER" TO FORMER AMBASSADOR BABRAK KARMAL, HIS EXILED PARACHAMIST COLLEAGUES, OR OTHER ENEMIES OF THE REVOLUTION.

9. PARTY RELATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT: ACCORDING TO TARAKI, THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN (PDPA) HAS HAD "HISTORICAL SOLIDARITY WITH THREE MAIN ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENTS." THE "GLOBAL FRONT FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS;" THE "INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT;" AND, THE "NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ALL OVER THE WORLD."

10. CONCLUSIONS: ASIDE FROM THESE NEW FORMULATIONS, THE GREAT DELUGE OF HIGH-LEVEL VERBIAGE SURROUNDING THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTION COVERED OLD GROUND. PUBLIC DENIALS BY THE LEADERSHIP THAT EVENTS KNOWN TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE (E.G., THE JALALABAD MUTINY, TORTURE OF PRISONERS, ETC.) HAVE EVER OCCURRED APPEAR TO HAVE BECOME THE ACCEPTED "BIG LIE" TACTIC, THEREBY FURTHER UNDERCUTTING WHATEVER DOMESTIC CREDIBILITY THE REGIME MAY HAVE POSSESSED. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST IN THIS CONNECTION IS TARAKI'S DISINGENUOUS DENIAL THAT AMIN EVER MENTIONED THAT "PEOPLE" WERE TRYING TO INFLUENCE THE GREAT LEADER, A REFERENCE BY THE PRIME MINISTER WHICH IS PART OF THE OFFICIAL PUBLIC RECORD IN THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED PRESS. TARAKI'S BARBS DIRECTED AT PRAGUE COULD ALSO HVE BEEN AIMED AT OTHER "BROTHERLY" COUNTRIES (E.G., YUGOSLAVIA, OR EVEN THE USSR) WHO MAY NOW OR AT SOME POINT PROVIDE A SAFE HAVEN FOR THE EXILED PARACHAMIST LEADERS. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT SEEMS THAT THE LONGER THE KHALQI REGIME REMAINS UNABLE TO CONSOLIDATE ITS OWN DOMESTIC SECURITY, THE MORE CONCERNED THE KHALQI LEADERSHIP MAY BECOME THAT ITS "INTERNATIONAL FRIENDS" MAY BEGIN CASTING ABOUT FOR ALTERNATE LEFTIST LEADERSHIP TO SUPPORT.

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